

INTERRACIAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL FOR CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY



The Madison Square Garden Rally

"Until the Four Freedoms are enjoyed by all Americans, irrespective of race, color, religion, or national origin, America is not a democracy and only a democracy can win this war for democracy. Only a democracy can win the peace for democracy. Only a democracy can keep the peace for democracy. America cannot assume the moral and spiritual leadership of world democracy until it becomes a democracy in fact and in truth; and America cannot become a true democracy until it eliminates and prohibits discriminations against any of its citizens because of race, color, religion or national origin."

—A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, President, *March on Washington Movement*



Editorials

Reviews

Statistics

Castel Gandolfo, Oct. 27 (A.P.). — Pope Pius XII in the first Encyclical of his reign blamed "the denial of God" for leading the world to war and pleaded for peace today.

— *The New York Sun*

SUMMI
PONTIFICATUS



The First Encyclical
of His Holiness
Pope Pius XII



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INTERRACIAL REVIEW

July - 1942

Vol. XV

No. 7

Christian Democracy

Christian Democracy rejects artificial inequalities due to racial myths, material greed or physical violence and recognizes only such accidental inequalities as necessarily accompany human life at all times and in all places.

As the objective of the Catholic interracial program, we define Christian Democracy as a society in which the God-given dignity and destiny of every human person is fully recognized, in laws, government, institutions and human conduct.

POSTULATES

- The Catholic Interracial Program has a twofold aim: (1) the combating of race prejudice; (2) the attainment of social justice for the whole social group regardless of race.
- "Nothing does more harm to the progress of Christianity and is more against its spirit than . . . race prejudice amongst Christians. — There is nothing more widely spread in the Christian world." — *Jacques Maritain*
- "From the evidence on hand today, we cannot scientifically prove that the Nordic or the Negro is superior or inferior, one to the other." — *Rev. John M. Cooper*
- The interracial problem is the greatest world problem of today. It is the major threat to international peace. In America the interracial problem is one of grave national concern. It is perhaps the biggest problem confronting the Catholic Church in America.
- "Intolerance towards Negroes in the United States is perhaps the acme of the racial intolerance of modern nationalism." — *Carlton J. H. Hayes*
- The spiritual aspect of the Catholic interracial program flows from the common membership of all races in the Mystical body of Christ and the common expression of this unity in the Church's liturgy.
- Prejudice on the part of Catholic laity is a barrier to the conversion of the Negro and a trial to the new found Faith of the Negro convert.
- "We must concede that the natural rights of the Negro are identical in number and sacredness to the rights of white persons." — *Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, S.T.D.*
- Catholic principles maintaining the equality of all men and upholding the sanctity of the Negro's natural rights, impose upon all Catholics a rule of conduct which must be followed, regardless of any temporary inconveniences, apprehensions or difficulties that may be encountered.

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INTERRACIAL REVIEW

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The Interracial Field

INTERESTING STATISTICS

Number of Negroes in U. S.	13,000,000
Estimated Number of Protestant Negroes....	5,000,000
Estimated Number of Catholic Negroes....	300,000
Estimated Number Unchurched.....	7,750,000
Number of Negroes Attending Colleges.....	23,038
Number of Catholic Negro Churches.....	282
Number of Catholic Negro Schools.....	263
Negro Enrollment in Catholic Schools.....	50,000
Priests Engaged in Colored Missions.....	450
Sisters Engaged in Colored Missions.....	1,600
Negroes in New York City	478,346
Negroes in Chicago	233,000
Negroes in Philadelphia.....	219,000
Negroes in Washington.....	132,068

Poll-Tax Called Undemocratic

"Southern Poll Tax must go!" the Southern Electoral Reform League declared in a statement issued last week. Explaining the issue, the league said:

"In order to have a wider democratic base under the Congressmen from the eight States in which the poll tax is prerequisite for voting, the Southern Electoral Reform League is seeking to abolish the poll tax for voting in Federal elections. Many of the Representatives from poll tax States are kept in power by the poll tax system, and, through the resulting seniority, hold most important committee posts. They too often use their strategic but undemocratically based power to block progressive legislation."

TWENTY-FIVE PER CENT VOTE

In these eight Southern States only 25.7 of the electorate voted in the 1940 presidential elections, while in the other 40 States the vote averaged 70.6 per cent.

National support of the move was urged by the leaders who stated: "We are waging a vigorous campaign against the poll tax on three fronts. State legislation and other signs of victory encourage us to redouble our efforts now in several key States. In Tennessee and Virginia the poll tax front is cracking. With your help we can turn this retreat of enemies of democracy into a victory for the people.

This is not only a National issue but is of transcendent importance today when we should set an example of faithfulness to democracy before the world."

—Michigan Chronicle

Notes From

XAVIER UNIVERSITY

The First Catholic College for Negro Youth

The Xavier School of Social Service is now offering courses for under-graduate students. This is of particular interest at this time since there are many Federal and State civil service and private positions in the field of social service available to college graduates without the requirement of post-graduate credits. In every field, particularly, in the field of education, it is increasingly important for applicants for positions to know the basic principles of modern social work. The present emphasis on physical education in the development of national programs has opened up many new opportunities. Training and social service will be of inestimable value for those preparing for work in this field. Those who are employed as well as those who desire to be employed in semi-professional fields, such as insurance, sales, nursing, etc., will find this course of great value.

WAR INDUSTRY COURSES

Beginning with the second period of the current Summer session of the University, courses in mechanical drawing, blue print reading and other related courses are being offered for the first time. Classes are open to both day and evening students and all persons—college, prep, and elementary school graduates—who are interested will be admitted to these classes.

The University is offering these classes to prepare essential defense workers for positions in the numerous defense industries where such training is needed.

SUMMER SCHOOL

In order to meet the demands of the present war emergency, the University is offering students the opportunity of earning a semester's credit during the summer months. Many students have availed themselves of this unique opportunity although the possibility of lucrative jobs and the draft requirements has reduced the number of students who otherwise would have remained in school during the summer months. The present enrollment for the period is close to the four hundred mark.

Rev. Wm. M. Markoe, S.J., Founder, St. Elizabeth's Church, St. Louis, Mo.

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JULY, 1942

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THE VOICE OF THE NEGRO

For the first time in the history of the *Interracial Review* we are devoting the entire issue to a single event, the recent Madison Square Garden Rally of the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT. We decided to do this because the present attitude of the American Negro is, in the words of Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune, "a new experience for America."

The most significant thing about the Rally is the fact that this historic gathering was genuinely American. The leaders of the movement have no spiritual, intellectual, or political ties or communications with and foreign land ideology. It is significant too, that these leaders rejected both the advice and the financial support of alien radical parties. It is edifying to know that the Garden Rally was denounced by both the Stalinist and the Trotskyite factions of the Communist party.

The voice of the American Negro, expressing the hopes and aspirations of thirteen million loyal Amer-

icans is a challenge to all citizens. It was a brave and forthright appeal for a fair share of the blessings of democracy.

He is indeed blind to the changing international scene who does not recognize that today there is a new evaluation of democracy. Throughout the world the scene and pattern are changing rapidly. The voices of peoples and races, long silent, in despair of their future progress, are today articulate—demanding freedom, justice, and equality for all.

We believe democracy now has a profounder meaning both here and abroad than ever before. There can be no turning back. The old order has definitely passed. The course is forward. Pagan nationalism, racism—the ideology of superior peoples—imperialistic domination and the ancient colonial policy of keeping backward peoples backward must never return. Democratic voices everywhere are outspoken in demanding a world order based on the ideal of

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liberty and justice for all nations *and for all peoples.*

Surely, the MARCH ON WASHINGTON MOVEMENT marks a turning point in the history of democracy. This is why we decided to publicize the outstanding addresses delivered on this historic occasion.

Introductory Remarks by Dr. Laurence M. Ervin

Honored guests, ladies and gentlemen. The New York Division of the March on Washington Movement, together with the City-Wide Planning Committee, has called this gigantic mass meeting, with the knowledge that democracy renews its strength by continued education as to its meaning and purposes. We take our democracy seriously, for we know its purpose to be the long-time interest, welfare and happiness of all peoples, regardless of race, creed, color or national origin; and not merely for the self-appointed few, or for those who, for various reasons in the past, have been previously privileged. We know that it respects the personality of every individual, whatever his origin or station in life. We know it should develop in him a sense of belongingness, and assure him the maximum development so as to be useful for the best interest of all in our Government. We feel that those in control of this Democracy should furnish every boy and every girl an environment that will provide opportunity for stimulating, encouraging and directing them to respect themselves, and to make the best of his or her own natural gifts, so that he or she may develop his or her own unique personality. We Negroes of America bow to the dictum that, as a minority we must of necessity, for the general good, conform to the approved program of the majority. But we also know it to be our inalienable rights to peacefully assemble, and to agitate for desired changes that may affect our social, political and economic welfare. We Negroes want to have an assurance that this country gives to us all the rights, privileges, protection, emoluments, accorded to any other of its citizens. In other words, we want to belong to this Democracy.

The failure of democratic principles to function for the Negro masses presents a challenge that cannot go unanswered. To that end we have here assembled the national leaders of the Negro people, and we will

call upon them to give expression to our demands for the complete integration of Negroes in all of the economic, social, political and spiritual institutions of our beloved country.

It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this, for this mass meeting gives us the opportunity to mobilize every man, woman and child in the struggle for liberation. It is the best way to put backbone, courage and the will to fight, in the Negro people, against misrule and discrimination; for mass action is a modern mechanism of power. And we want by this means to rouse the Negro people to fight for their democratic rights during the war; and to place the cause of the Negro into the main stream of public opinion now. We hold that if black boys, in the uniform of their country, are to go, and to fight, and to die for Democracy in the Philippine Islands, in Corregidor, Burma, Australia and the Dutch East Indies, then they should have Democracy in Alexandria, Louisiana; Sikeston, Missouri; Fort Bragg, North Carolina; Camp Dix, New Jersey; and New York City. We are not against this war. We repudiate with all of our being, the philosophy of a Hitler of Germany; a Mussolini of Italy; a Hirohito of Japan; but we also despise with all our souls the philosophy of a Rankin and a Bilbo of Mississippi; a "Cotton" Ed Smith of South Carolina; a Talmadge of Georgia; a Connally of Texas; a Smith of Virginia; and a Westbrook Pegler of New York City.

Ladies and gentlemen, I shall burden you no longer. Let our leaders speak!

WHO'S WHO

Dr. Laurence M. Ervin, Chairman of the Madison Square Garden Rally, is President of the March On Washington Movement.

Mr. A. Philip Randolph, a prominent Negro leader, is National Director of the March On Washington Movement.

Dr. Channing H. Tobias is the National Director of the Colored division Y.M.C.A.

Dr. Walter White is Executive Secretary of the National Association For the Advancement of Colored People. He is the leader in the fight for a Federal Anti-Lynching law.

Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune is President of the Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona, Fla. Dr. Bethune is Director of the Negro Youth Division of the N.Y.A.

Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., is Executive Editor of "America" and Chaplain of the Catholic Interracial Council.

Mr. Lester H. Granger is Executive Director of the National Urban League. His home is in Brooklyn.

GOVERNMENT SETS PATTERN OF JIM-CROW

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

We have the disgraceful and dangerous spectacle of the Federal Government setting the pattern and pace of Jim-Crow, segregation and discrimination based upon race and color in America. Our own Government is officially freezing and perpetuating the status of inferiority of its own citizens because of color and race. And let me warn you, if Jim-Crow and segregation are permitted to become the pattern and way of life of Negro Americans, Negroes as a minority group are through in this country.

The South is in the saddle in the Nation's Capitol. The ranking secretaries of the President are Southerners. The chairman of the most powerful committees of the House and Senate are Southerners.

I would not by any means imply that all Southerners are anti-Negro. Far from it. You have only to refer to such statesmen of the South as Dr. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina, Mark Ethridge and the Agars of the Louisville Courier Journal, Aubrey Williams of the National Youth Administration, Clark Foreman, Will Alexander and a number of others. But it is a matter of common knowledge that these men do not control and shape the opinion and affairs of the South as yet. The opinion and affairs of the South are controlled and shaped by Senator Tom Connally and Congressman Martin Dies of Texas, Senator Ellender of Louisiana, Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina, Howard Smith of Virginia, the Talmadges and Coxes of Georgia and a host of little violent and virulent Negro-phobists who wave the bloody shirt and preach the false, inflammatory doctrine of Negro domination, for economic and political advantage.

How can the Government tell trade unions and business that they should not jim-crow and discriminate against Negroes when it jim-crows and discriminates against Negroes itself. This is why the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice is faced with a big and difficult job. Trade unions and businesses that discriminate against Negroes can very well thumb their noses at the Government and say, "clean out your own house first before you tell us to clean out ours."

Realizing the function of the President was one of constantly balancing pressures and that he would inevitably move in the direction of the pressure of

the greatest challenge, plans were mapped to build up the pressure of 100,000 Negroes marching on Washington. We planned the March to be all Negroes because we wanted the President and the country not to be left in any doubt that this March was the symbol and expression of discontent and resentment of Negroes themselves against discriminations in the Army, Navy, U. S. Marines, Air-Corps, defense industries and the Government and not some outburst artificially stirred up and manipulated by the artful Communists.

As a result of the pressure of the proposed March of 100,000 Negroes on Washington, the Executive Order #8802 was issued and under it the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice was established. Effective work is being done by the Committee. More effective work will be done, if, as and when a militant and informed public opinion of the Negro masses and the public in general are placed behind it.

The Executive Order and the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice are of great importance to the Negro because they are creatures of Negro initiative struggle and sacrifice. But while it is the right of Negroes that brought this Executive Order and Committee into being, they are not for Negroes alone, but for all minority groups, embraced within the categories of race, color, religion or national origin.

The March on Washington Movement was careful to insist in its proposed Executive Order that it be not confined to Negroes alone, but that its benefits extend to Jews, Catholics, Mexicans, Filipinos, Chinese and Japanese. This made the Executive Order a State paper of broad and profound democratic purpose and significance.

While the President frees Earl Browder a Communist, who does not represent more than some 50,000 Communists in America, in the interest of national unity, Odell Waller, a young Negro sharecropper, convicted by a poll-tax jury, a member of a race of upwards of 20,000,000 citizens who resent the Government's policy of discrimination, faces execution, June 19, for killing a Virginia landlord in self defense, and no clemency has yet been extended.

Five Scottsboro boys whose conviction has been a stench in the nostrils of justice and decency the world over, still languish in an Alabama prison.

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In the Capitol of the Nation, Washington, D. C., no Negro can exercise his Constitutional and civil rights to attend a public theater, and he can starve to death with a thousand dollars in his pocket downtown in the Capitol in the midst of countless eating places. Even the restaurant in the House of Congress won't feed them.

Questions have been asked as to what sort of people composed the March on Washington Movement. Our answer is loyal, patriotic Negro Americans. We love our country. We love our race. We love the human race. We have no use for Nazis, Communists or Fascists or their works. We consider them a menace, a nuisance, a danger and a pestilence to Negroes, labor and our country. We believe in the democratic process, ideals, heritages, faiths and values. We believe in them so strongly we are ready and determined to fight for them at home and abroad.

Yes, we are fighting to kill Jim-Crow now, during the war. We don't propose to wait until the war ends. Everybody else is fighting for democracy now, including the Government. Why shouldn't Negroes fight for democracy too, not only abroad but also at home. Now, is this disloyalty to the Government? Negroes don't have to be disloyal to the Government in order to be loyal to themselves. Nor do they have to be disloyal to themselves in order to be loyal to the Government. Loyalty to the Negro race by Negroes and loyalty to the Government by Negroes complement and supplement each other. A Negro who is disloyal to his race cannot be trusted by the Government or anybody else. And, by the same token, a Negro who is disloyal to our Government and country cannot be trusted by the Negro race.

The Negro is not challenged to prove his loyalty to the Government and democracy. The Government is challenged to prove its loyalty to democracy and the Negro.

Just as the Jews have the Zionist Movement fighting on their specific problems; the workers have trade unions dealing with their specific problems; women have their movements handling their special problems, so the Negro needs an all-Negro movement to fight to solve his specific problems. But on general problems like war and peace, child labor, workmen's compensation, low rent, better schools, better police protection, lower taxes that concern everybody, Negroes, Catholics, Jews, trade unionists, women, etc.,

can join in common civic movements. Nor does this mean that Negroes should not help the workers and Jews and Catholics break down barriers and prejudices against them or that they, in turn, should not support the Negroes' fight for his rights, but it does mean that any minority group which has problems has the responsibility of meeting those problems themselves; and nobody else but themselves will effectively grapple with them. History shows that Jews must depend upon women to fight the battles of women; Negroes must depend upon Negroes to fight the battles of Negroes; and the workers must depend upon workers to fight the battles of the workers.

Nor does this all-Negro movement idea imply that interracial movements are not necessary, valuable and sound. It means that interracial movements need to be supplemented by an all-Negro movement just as an inter-religious movement such as the Conference of Christians and Jews is supplemented by specific religious groups of Jews and Catholics and Protestants. For no Negro is secure from intolerance and race prejudice so long as one Jew is the victim of anti-semitism or a Catholic is victimized—as Governor Alfred E. Smith was by religious bigotry during the Presidential campaign against Herbert Hoover—or a trade unionist is harassed by a tory open-shopper.

If the American Union in 1853 could not endure half slave and half free, our American democracy cannot continue with a first-class and second-class citizenship; with one section of the country free to vote and another section disfranchized by the poll tax and white primaries.

The Communists of all shades and wings who have sought to sabotage this meeting say the time and money put in this meeting should be put into helping to win the war. We reject this advice. Our reply is that not only are we staging this meeting, but one in Chicago and Washington also, and if the President does not issue a war proclamation to abolish Jim-Crow in Washington, the District of Columbia and all Government departments and the Armed Forces, Negroes are going to MARCH and we don't give a hang what happens. While Negroes want to see Russia defeat Hitler Negroes are not going to let the Communists of Russia or the Communists of America that take orders from Russia, or Fascists or Nazis tell them what to do about their problems in America.

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We are determined that this war shall not end and our boys now going to Burma and Australia to give their lives for democracy, return and not find democracy at home. It is our responsibility to them that they shall not have fought in vain for a democracy which they cannot enjoy in their own country.

We don't propose to permit this war to end and find Negroes in the same fix they were when it began. We are not going to fight for democracy and then live under mob rule, lynching, the poll tax, white primaries and Jim-Crow.

Yes, we know that to break down Jim-Crow and bury it in the same grave with Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's Fascism and Hirohito's militarism means struggle and trouble. But what difference does it make? We are having trouble anyway. Better that Negroes face extermination than a life of segregation with its degradation and bitter humiliation. Rather that we die standing on our feet fighting for our rights than

to exist upon our knees begging for life. Only brave men can build a new world. If Negroes are not willing to fight, suffer, sacrifice, and if need be, go to jail and even die for a place of equality in this brave new world, we are not worthy of it.

To PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

We hail President Roosevelt, the world's greatest living Statesman and champion of democracy! May your strength and courage and will and devotion to the ideals of democracy, liberty, justice and peace never fail you! We believe we are upholding your hand when we fight for the Four Freedoms for Negroes in our land.

Mr. President, the greatest tragedy of America in this war was not the treachery of the Japanese at Pearl Harbor. It is America's profession of fighting for democracy while denying it to her own citizens because of color. America's guns will only be invincible when her democratic soul is invulnerable.

REMARKS BY DR. CHANNING H. TOBIAS

No man, whatever his race, creed or color, can afford to be indifferent to the fight that the Allied Nations are making for the survival of civilization. Especially is this true of disadvantaged minorities, for a victory for the Axis powers in this war would destroy the very means by which oppressed peoples of the earth would make their protests known, namely, free assemblies such as this meeting tonight. It is this consciousness of the gravity of the issue in the war that makes it important that no nation or group within a nation shall be prevented from doing its rightful part in achieving a United Nations victory.

If I understand correctly the purpose of this meeting tonight, it is to insist that every restriction and handicap that prevent thirteen million Negro citizens from full and free participation in the war be removed.

We are not here to display our sores or to comfort the enemies without manifesting any lack of enthusiasm for the war effort; but we are here to insist that our Government shall call a halt on those traitorous elements within our country who think more of their prejudices than they do of an Allied victory.

We are here to insist upon a single standard of

citizenship, not so much because it is fair and just to the Negro, but because a double standard of citizenship has never won a war.

We are here to insist that the Negro, who has never shot a bullet through the American Flag, shall not be humiliated by those who, through lawlessness and violence to personality, daily trample the Flag under foot.

We are here to insist that the Negro shall not be the only exception among the many racial groups that make up our cosmopolitan population when it comes to integration of men into the armed services of the country.

We are here to insist that the principle laid down by the President of the United States, that no man shall be discriminated against in defense industries because of his race, creed, color or national origin, shall be observed, not by token employment but by full and free participation on the part of all qualified workers.

Finally, we are here to remind the nation that the denial of fundamental citizenship rights under the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights, and not the protest against that denial, is the real threat to successful prosecution of the war effort.

DEMOCRACY FOR ALL

By WALTER WHITE

Other speakers will tell you the myriad, often heartbreaking, details of the color line in the war program of our own country. It is a color line which has been slightly dented here and there. But six months after Pearl Harbor and Singapore discrimination based on skin color is as firmly rooted in the thinking of the white world as it ever was. A little vaseline has been applied in meagre applications to this festering cancer of bigotry—a disease so virulent that the safety of the entire world is threatened by it. And the tragedy of the situation is that only a few intelligent and brave souls like Mrs. Roosevelt, Pearl Buck and one or two writers in the white world are wise enough to see the picture as it is.

In the time allotted me I want briefly to touch upon two aspects—one global, the other national—of this whole question of color. In the Coral Sea and at Midway Island the United States has slowed up, if not checked materially, the onward sweep of Japan. But it is foolhardy to believe that these apparent victories have ended or are likely to end soon, the war in the Pacific. Even if Japan surrendered unconditionally tomorrow, her capitulation would provide only a brief interlude of peace unless the white world believes and acts without reservation to make true the words of Sumner Welles on Memorial Day, that “Our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed, or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended.”

For the blunt truth of the matter is fact the thousand million brown and yellow people of the Orient and the 155 million of black people in Africa just don’t believe that the white world believes this or intends to put it into effect once the danger to themselves is past. Gandhi today is saying that the sole interest of the United States in India is to preserve and perpetuate British imperialism. Unless and until the United States takes unequivocal action to put the clear, brief words of Sumner Welles into effect, neither Mr. Gandhi nor the four hundred millions of his fellow Indians, nor the four hundred millions of China, nor the other millions of Burma and the Dutch East Indies and Africa will believe for a moment that the interest of the United States is *not* to continue British and other imperialism in the Orient.

What is desperately needed is forthright action by President Roosevelt in cooperation with the leaders of the colored world—Chiang Kai-shek of China; Gandhi, Nehru and Azab of India; Manual Quezon of the Philippines, and Hailie Selassie of Ethiopia—to draft and put into execution a Pacific Charter which, with the Atlantic Charter of Roosevelt and Churchill will form a world charter of freedom. Nothing less will offset the statement of Churchill last September 14, that the Atlantic Charter applies only to the Nazi-dominated countries of Europe and does not apply to the peoples of the British Empire. Nothing less will convince the brown, yellow and black peoples of the Orient and of the world that President Roosevelt’s four freedoms will apply to them as well as to whites. Nothing less will give them a stake to fight for and to die for.

Instead of demonstrating the vision and courage which would galvanize the colored peoples of the world into dynamic, uncompromising struggle against the Axis, what does our country do? It is sending, I am informed, to India and China, American Expeditionary forces made up in large part of white soldiers from Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas and Louisiana. [The N.A.A.C.P. urged the War Department to include in its military instructions to all American soldiers, courses on the racial background of the war. We believe such introduction was, and is desperately needed, to counteract as far as is possible within a short period, the background of racial bigotry in which these and other American soldiers were born and brought up]. Our suggestion was courteously but firmly turned down. Disturbing rumors come back from the Orient of these cracker soldiers treating Indians and Chinese as they are accustomed to treat with impunity Negroes in darkest Mississippi. Is there any wonder that the people of India and of China look with exceedingly skeptical eyes upon the beautiful words of democracy and the four freedoms which fall from white lips?

The plain, bitter truth is that thinking and action on the problem of race in our own country are determined almost completely by the most fascist-minded elements in the deepest and darkest South. This element—which practiced Nazism long before Hitler was born—almost completely dominates our Federal

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Government. Our President, our Army, our Navy, and our Government generally, are afraid to challenge or to offend these Southern demagogues by eliminating the color line. Disfranchisement of black people has inevitably brought about the disfranchisement of an overwhelming majority of the white people of the deep South.

Thus, today, the South, with only a little over one-fourth of the population of the United States, holds more than 50 per cent of the chairmanships in the United States House of Representatives and Senate. They have achieved this under a Democratic administration through the ease by which demagogues can get themselves elected and reelected with ridiculous ease through the rotten borough system of the South.

I invite you to go down the list of Senate chairmen if important committees: Chairman of the Appropriations Committee is Carter Glass of Virginia. Of Agriculture, "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina. Of the enormously important Foreign Relations, Tom Connally of Texas who *Life* recently said, would be the most influential of Americans at the Peace Conference in troweling out the new world.. I invite you to read his bitterly sardonic comments on Negroes during the seven weeks filibuster which he led against the anti-lynching bill in 1937.

Chairman of Finance is George of Georgia. Of Military Affairs, Reynolds of North Carolina. Of Rules, Byrd of Virginia. Of Territories and Insular Affairs—increasingly important because of the global nature of the war and of the post-war world—Tydings of Maryland.

In the House of Representatives the situation is even worse. Chairman of the Judiciary Committee is Sumners of Texas, who openly boasted he would never permit even a hearing of any anti-lynching bill as long as he was chairman, and today his committee refuses to report out the anti-poll tax bill. Of Ways and Means, Doughton of North Carolina; of Banking and Currency, Steegall of Alabama. Of Agriculture, Fulner of South Carolina. Of Naval Affairs, Vinson of Georgia. Of Military Affairs, May of Kentucky.

In the light of the control of our Government by these men who spit upon democracy whenever the Negro is involved, is there any wonder that meetings like this are tragically necessary at a time like this? Or that, irony of ironies, we Negroes must fight for the right to fight when the world is threatened with

destruction? But fight we must, and fight we will! And it is a fight which we can and must win. There are thousands on our side and the number constantly grows. Many young white men have petitioned our War Department for permission to serve in a so-called Mixed Division so that they can demonstrate that they believe democracy can be practiced as well as talked about. But the South still rules Washington on the Negro question and the Army because the Army refuses to break down jim-crowism despite the success of the training of Negro and white officers together in training schools located in the deep South. Hundreds of thousands of white Americans, including the American Medical Association, have denounced the order to jim-crowism Negro blood which was given by the Army and Navy to the Red Cross. But this Hitler-like philosophy of blood and race continues. Modest progress has been made by the Fair Employment Practice Committee in breaking down employment discrimination, and there have been modest gains in other fields. But the basic philosophy remains the same—that Negroes are second-class citizens and must remain so even though the world fails.

How can the Negro in the light of the record believe the fine brave words about democracy when tonight Odell Waller sits in death row in a Virginia prison scheduled to die Friday night because he dared defend himself from being killed by a white landlord? How can the Negro believe the fine brave words about democracy when a cheap Mississippi demagogue like Rankin can get up on the floor of the House of Representatives and spew forth venom on the Negro because he resents the imputation of inferiority when his blood is segregated? How can a Negro believe in democracy when the Army and Navy of his Government says to him "You can fight and die for democracy but you can't experience it in the Army and Navy?"

How can a Negro believe wholeheartedly that the cause he is asked to die for is worth dying for when daily he is confronted by insult, discrimination and segregation? Prove to us, United Nations, and prove to the colored peoples of Asia, Africa and the Caribbean that you are not hypocrites when you say this is a war for freedom. Prove it to us and we will show you that we can and will fight like fury for that freedom. But we want—and we intend to have—our share of that freedom!

THE NEW NEGRO

By DR. MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE

Your chins are out, your eyes are clear! I see determination written on the faces of everyone of you.

Your militancy and resoluteness are among America's most valuable assets in a day like this. We must not let America ignore the powerful service that can be rendered here by these attributes you possess. America needs today, as never before, your fighting hearts, your courage, your refusal to surrender or retreat in the face of discouraging odds.

You who are here tonight are a new experience to America. Throughout the history of your life in this country—over three hundred years—you have been regarded as the patient, submissive minority—your first two and a half centuries were spent in enforced slavery. You had no rights, the Supreme Court held—you were chattels like any horse, or plow or iron pot. You were not permitted to use a voice and so had to express your hopes and dreams for freedom, your bravery and courage, through individual rebellion, occasional mass uprisings and more often through the spirituals, the sorrow songs that gave the first mass expression to our deep longing to live some day as free citizens in a democracy.

Then came your emancipation—to save the union which could not exist half slave and half free. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution legally abolished slavery. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments took you out of the status of chattels and made you citizens, made the Bill of Rights yours. Still, you were patient—experiencing discriminations, injustices, segregations and denials of equal opportunities. Here and there a clarion voice rose above the rumblings against injustice, a Frederick Douglass, a Harriet Tubman, a Walter White, a Philip Randolph, and nameless and numerous unsung heroes. But, the pall of a slave experience still hung over the masses of our people. They had the right to speak out but dared not speak out.

But, today—a New Negro has arisen in America. He is here in Madison Square Garden tonight. He is you!

You are neither young nor old—you're just new! You have awakened as has the world. You are seeking full freedom, justice, respect, and opportunity.

You are militant in spirit. You are unwilling to

accept less than the Constitution guarantees to you as citizens of the world's greatest democracy.

You are no longer begging—you are insisting, because you realize that America, the only country you know and the country you love, cannot be preserved nine-tenths free and one-tenth oppressed. You realize your insistence is necessary to save America from itself, to make America the ideal democracy that it professes itself to the world to be. Not only are our enemies capitalizing on America's slightest failures to do so, but our allies and friends in China and India, Africa and South America, are weighting America's sincerity on her own "home" scales.

Thank God you have these qualities of militancy and insistence. And thank God you have a leadership to cultivate and guide these qualities that are rising from the masses.

You know how important it is that this surging spirit be kept within the bounds of law and order. You know how necessary it is that your militancy be non-violent. But you must at the same time keep it persistent, keep it courageous, make it articulate.

Only by so doing can we win victory for democracy at home and for democracy throughout the world. Our insistence upon the practice of democratic ideals here does not in any measure detract from our loyalty to our country, nor from the militancy in our stand for the democratization of the world. Friends of freedom are aware of our purpose—they know our insistence is an effort to rid America of shame.

We have grown tired of turning the other cheek. Both our cheeks are now so blistered they are too sensitive for further blows. But regardless of our trials and tribulations at home, we must not for a moment lose sight of the fact that we must give our all-out, unreserved effort to winning the war. Unless this war is won on the battlefields abroad, there can be no victory in our struggles here at home. I want all America to understand—and I believe I voice the sentiment of everyone of you here—that we will never strike our Flag. On the contrary, we will eternally protect it with all that we have in courage, in faith, in endurance.

At the same time, we want our Flag to protect us—at home—in our right to produce and to live, abroad in our willingness to sacrifice and to die.

THE SPIRITUAL FRONT

By JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.

There is much talk of fronts; of Eastern fronts and Western, of first and second fronts.

When all has been studied out, I believe we shall find that the supreme front of all, where ultimately the world's business will be decided, is the home circle of each and every American citizen. What wins or loses there, will clamp the final decision upon the battles of the globe.

Let us visit such a home, one of the homes of the men and women in this great audience, of millions like them throughout the country.

In that home, the father and mother assemble their children of an evening and talk of the future that awaits them. They *must* think of that future, for those children have been given them by God. They have received that family in sacred trust, and it is God's most precious gift. Woe to the man who will deprive parents or homes of their children!

If you or I are privileged to be guests at that family table, we shall soon learn what thoughts are weighing upon the minds of father and mother. Two or three questions they must inevitably ask themselves.

First, what will be the freedom of their children in the life that soon begins for them? Our country requires the same of these children that it requires of all others: the same responsibility as future citizens; requires that they work, and fight, and pray like all the rest of human kind. It tells them daily at school of their grave obligation to develop the talents and capacities with which the Creator has endowed them.

But will these upcoming boys and girls be free to live up to that responsibility? Will they return, some fine day, and report to aging parents the brutal news that they have been denied, on the grounds of an exploded racial theory, of the opportunity to devote their gifts, their intelligence, their lives to the service of God and country?

Another foreboding stirs uneasiness in the parents' minds. What pledge of personal immunity does the future hold? What protection from the violence of the mob, or from the mob's rule through legal and political discrimination? Will the right to life itself be guaranteed to them?

Dearest of all, however, to the parents' hearts, dearer than life itself is the thought of their children's

honor. Will stigmas attach to them in the public mind, in the daily language of their fellow-citizens and fellow-Americans? Will they be ticketed in a relentless classification, from which no merit or diligence or ability can ever find escape? Must they carry a badge that will pursue them even into the armed services of the nation, upon land and sea, until death?

Or will it be said of them, and falsely and unfactually said, that they cannot work side by side in factory or ship-yard with those of another race without arousing friction and antagonism? Will such legends and calumnies be allowed to continue?

These are not questions that a parent merely *may* ask. They are questions as is sometimes idly said, inspired by "liberal well-wishers." They are questions which parents *must* ask. Upon this front, the front of the elementary and inalienable rights of every human being, parents must do battle, if they are to be faithful to the charge which the Creator has laid upon them. Parents are the shepherds of their flock, and the great Shepherd, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, has branded as a traitor and a mercenary anyone who would desert his flock in time of danger.

Yet the nation relies upon these same parents and prospective parents to defend our country unto death from the most desperate enemy any people has ever seen. Will the defense of their children, and the future good of their homes, weaken or contradict the supreme effort with which the Negro citizens of America are consecrating themselves to total war against a total enemy? The prejudiced and short-sighted may utter such a charge. But to these false prophets there is a crushing answer. It is given by men who know Hitler first hand, men who daily face his wrath and his guile, some of whom I personally know and have studied with in times past: the religious leaders in Hitler's own country.

"We not only stand up for religious and clerical rights," say the Catholic Bishops of Germany in the declaration drawn up at their last annual meeting in Fulda, and read in the churches on March 22 of this year, "but likewise for the human rights bestowed by God on mankind."

The German Bishops specify these rights: the natur-

al rights to personal freedom—to life and the goods essential to living—and “the natural right that every man has to the protection of his honor against lies and slander.” They are the answers to the three questions affecting the future of our children that I have just mentioned.

What the religious minded men and women of Germany and of the United States, be they Catholic, Protestant or Jew—defend against the infamy of Hitler—these threefold rights are what parents are bound in conscience to seek for our children and our children’s children forever. They demand them for white children, for Negro children, for all children, since racial injustice knows no boundaries, and if tol-

erated for one race will soon be administered to all.

For armies and navies there must needs be many diverse fields of combat, since they work in time and space. But there is but one front for souls in this war, which has no bounds of time or space: it springs from the eternal Creator and extends to all the world. Upon this spirited front we take our stand, when we claim in the light of our American Constitution and in the light of Christian teaching, the unimpeded power to do our full duty and achieve our complete destiny as children of God and citizens of the United States. There is no sounder position under Heaven; and none which will contribute more whoieheartedly to the successful prosecution of the war.

REMARKS BY LESTER H. GRANGER

The length of the remarks of the previous speakers makes it unnecessary for me to go very deeply in the issues responsible for our being here. Many points have been developed, and even belabored by those preceding me. With some of those points I am in agreement, and with others I am in strong disagreement. That is natural, for this audience is composed of Negroes of many political and religious beliefs, of different economic circumstances, temperaments and past experiences. Our reactions to a common problem will differ as our experiences, temperaments and personal opinions differ.

Disagreements are not as important tonight as our common agreement—the common cause which has brought us all together. We are here because we love America and because we are determined to help America win the war for Democracy. And this is no idle lip service when we make this statement. We Negroes know what Democracy means, for we have been among those suffering most deeply from its lack. We love this country as few others have the right to love it. We have built it with our sweat, toil and blood. We have given anguished labor in the blinding sun and the dark of night. For our labor we have received scant praise and scantier reward.

This country is ours, for we know no other flag—no other land—no other love—but America. We realize that all our future and our best interests are tied up in a victory for American armies. We realize also the alternative fate that will await us if this nation

should lose the war. We need no exhortation to inspire our loyalty. Neither do we need self-appointed counselors who come to us with selfish aims of their own to tell us our duty to ourselves and our land. We need no such counseling, whether it comes from the right, the center, the left or the further left. We have our destiny chosen for ourselves, and that destiny is the attainment of Democracy—full and complete Democracy for ourselves and our children.

We have a time-table for starting the progress toward that goal and the time for starting is NOW—TONIGHT—THIS MINUTE. We march tonight for an all-out effort for victory, which means one hundred percent use of America’s manpower, financial resources and military and naval strength. We cannot make a one hundred percent war effort with nine-tenths use of our human resources. Insofar as racial prejudice bars the complete participation of Negroes in all phases of national defense, in just so far does prejudice become the rope that binds the strong arm of Democracy behind its back.

We are tonight to cut loose those bonds and to release the strong arm of Democracy for the glorious victory that must be hers. It is with this thought that the National Urban League is represented here tonight, and it is in this spirit that I bring you the greetings of my organization. We pledge ourselves to work with all truly loyal American groups that desire victory for Democracy and Democracy in Victory.

A NEW DAY

By FRANK CROSSWAITH

Speaking from the platform in Madison Square Garden is an old experience of mine, one which I have had the opportunity to enjoy for quite a number of years. Interestingly enough, however, upon every previous occasion when mine was the privilege to speak from this historic platform, it has always been in behalf of and for the men and women of America who work for their living. And upon this occasion, as I rise to speak to you, I see before me working men and working women. And, as I think and talk—I intend to think and talk to working men and women—this is the first occasion, however, when I have attended a funeral in Madison Square Garden. I consider this a funeral because, like every other black man and woman and child here, and those unable to be here, we are gathered here tonight to bury into the grave of forgetfulness the type of black man that America too long has known.

When you ask the average American to tell you something about the Negro they are likely to say—to think of either of folk songs or the spirituals, or to tell you how we can sing and dance. We want America, from tonight, to begin to answer a question of the Negro—how we can think. Somewhere in our literature it is said that once to every man and woman comes a moment to decide in the strife which truth and falsehood—for the good or evil side. We have determined now to take our places alongside of the good side.

As we contemplate our plight in this nation, the nation that owes us most of all the people who make up her population, we are determined that no longer will we be considered beggars in the land that is reputedly the richest in the world, because my black mother, and yours, and our black fathers labored here for 245 years and never received a penny in wages for that labor. We are determined no longer to beg for our rights in this land, because our white fellow-citizens over a century and a half ago—and their descendants now—came to this land in order to find liberty. My father and yours came here to lose their liberty. And when we hear from now on over the air and from the platform those songs that stir the souls of America, we want America to interrupt those songs not as the pleading—the sycophanting plea of weak and weary black men—but the determined challenge

of courageous black men saying to America “Here we stand at last. Give us our liberty or give us death!”

I feel like you keenly on this question, my friends, keenly because I belong, like you, to the men and women of this nation who own no land, who own no bank account, who, in order to go from sunrise to sunset, to go from their birth to their death, must find somebody to give them a chance to work for their living. I feel keenly on this question too because as I stand here as one of the exploited black and white millions of this nation, talking so loudly about democracy, about freedom, about justice and those other elevating ideals for which unnumbered men of unnumbered colors and creeds have gone down the slope of time, with the Crucifix on their shoulders and the dagger in their hearts—as I speak to you, I have the bone of my bone and blood of my blood, a black boy in an American uniform—my child, if you please—somewhere on the continent of Europe tonight, to die, if necessary, for the Stars and Stripes of the United States. That son of mine can't see me now; I can't see him, he can't hear me and I can't hear him. But with my eyes I can see in the very crevices of his soul and his heart. He has a hope. He has a dream. That hope and that dream is that some day the flag for which he is about to die in Europe may wave freely over the heads of his children and his race and his class like it waved over the heads of those who came here in order to find liberty.

Let me say to you, my friends, I might become a little humorous upon occasion. This is the first time in all of my speaking career—not only from this platform but from most platforms—when I have been limited to but five minutes. Frank Crosswaith is utterly unable to disclose the corners of his soul in five minutes. I am deeply appreciative to the Mayor of the City of New York for having appointed me a member of the Housing Authority of this city. Once more I am called upon to be—to render some service to my class—the working class—and to my race. It might be of some import to the Mayor and to my friends to know that upon the first occasion in my life when I stood before a Judge in the United States I stood there as agitated tenant, organizing fellow-tenants in segregated Harlem 24 years ago, and I think I can

render some more service to my fellow-tenants and to my fellow-workingmen.

Let me, because of the large number of speakers who will follow me, touch on but two things and then complete my brief address. Permit no wind or wave to blind your eyes to the fact, black men and women, that your fate and the fate of your children rests solidly in the lap of the working class of the United States, and in the lap of the working men and women of the world. I know as well as you do that there are white working men so blind, so ignorant, so stupid, so assinine, that they are unable to recognize their kinship with you and with me. But in spite of that, in spite of their ignorance, in spite of their shortsightedness, we must have more vision, a better understanding, than they, and to organize ourselves like the Pullman Porters have done in this country, and develop power—power, if you please; it's spelled P O W E R, and any time you separate that P from that O, or that O from that W, or that E, you are going to have low wages, long hours, segregation, lynching, disenfranchisement, and all the other evils that follow doggedly behind working men, black and white, who lack P O W E R.

Seeing what has happened to the Negro workers in the Bahama just recently, getting 81c a day wages while organized white working men from the United States work beside them and make wages that permit the wages of the native workers to look like a bean in the bosom of the ocean—but you notice that even those black working men in the Bahama, they too are learning how no longer to plead and beg. They are acting, they are learning how to think and act together, and as they do that in cooperation with the working men and women of every color of every creed, they will be able not only to defeat Hitler and all the other evils that smell of Nazism but we will be able to develop enough power, enough education, enough vision and socialmindedness that we will be able at last to lift our bruised and tormented souls out of the gutter of unemployment, of low wages, long hours, lynching, segregation, and together stretch forward our hands, black and white, Jew and Gentile, and march—march on and on and on, from victory to victory, from success to success, until at last for our children and theirs we will leave an America worthy of the blood of Crispus Attucks!

AS YOUTH SEES IT

EDITED BY YOUTH

RESPONSIBILITIES OF CATHOLICS

• This moving solicitude of Communism for the Negro is scarcely an overflowing of the great humanitarian spirit that wells from the bleeding hearts of the party leaders. Humanitarianism is not one of Communism's more notable attributes.

"Opportunism, however, is. And in 13,000,000 Negroes including many millions of votes, Communism recognizes a minority eminently worth cultivating. Moreover, as a persecuted people, often held in contempt by even the most worthless whites, the Negro has been found emotionally and mentally prepared for the new enlightenment of Lenin. Years and years of intolerance and discrimination have put him in a frame of mind to grasp avidly at even the ariest of hopes and promises."

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The above-quoted passages appear in an article titled "*The Forgotten Ten Percent*," in Volume III, Number 6, of the little paper "*Perspective*" published by the Literary Committee of Alumni Council of Catholic Action, of Boston. The Council has a special Committee on Interracial Justice—one which should prove vastly effective since it is based on so realistic an admission of facts.

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It is the failure to realize, and once realizing, a failure to admit to our individual responsibility in the matter of social sins, which so often prevents a total cure. Oh, it is always easy to allocate the blame for these ills!—but since our census-taking in such instances seldom includes ourselves, self-indictment is rarely (if ever) one of the results.

This is specifically true in the case of the social injustice accorded the Negro. Recognize the evil, we do; but recognize our own particular blame in the matter? . . . well, humility is not an easy virtue!

It is the easy fault of most Catholics that they believe themselves incapable of any sin against Charity. They believe, in a very passive way, that the name "Catholic" weaves a magic web about them . . . a web marvelously impenetrable by the extremely human tendency towards uncharitableness and snobbery. As a result, too often "off guard," many more Catholics than one would care to admit are unconscious supporters of un-Christian movements.

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It is these sins of non-action, of omission rather than of commission, which do most harm in causes such as that of Interracial Justice. Once an evil is ignored, it does not remain at a fixed stage but grows steadily worse, so that the ignoring does as much harm in its own way as active opposition.

An evil is ignored for one of two usual reasons: either through failure to realize the existence of the evil (an infi-

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itely more forgivable sin); or through that laziness of conscience which makes us deny our obligation to act in rectifying an evil clearly perceived but consciously ignored.

It is an unfortunate and lamentable truth that the latter of these two reasons generally motivates the Catholic in his so-called "passive" abetment of social injustices as that against the Negro . . . since a Catholic of any training, however limited, cannot fail to realize the anti-Christian spirit which occasions hatred and prejudice of any nature whatsoever, be it religious, racial or of an economic basis.

For, being a Catholic means, simply, these two facts: (1) God is my first love; (2) my fellow-man is my second love. And "my fellow-man" is every living, breathing, God-created, soul-endowed human being of whatever creed, color, or nationality.

* * * * *

In the matter of the Interracial question, there are three types of Catholics: the first (and let us not forget him, though he *is* the minority), the Catholic actively and fearlessly engaged in an attempt to combat this rampant evil by his life, his words, and his prayers; the second, the Catholic above-mentioned, who blindly ignores his duty to take active part in the fight against this injustice; the third, the Catholic who goes even shamelessly further and openly and actively participates in discriminating against the Negro.

It is the two latter types which are our prime concern: especially the second type, since he predominates so strongly, and since indifference has a far greater nullifying effect than any other influence. (Open discrimination, on the other hand, has been known to sharpen resistance.)

* * * * *

If we, as Catholics actively interested in the Interracial movement, will begin by taking inventory of our own list of prejudicial actions, we shall be taking our first step in the direction of effectiveness. Prejudice is a very natural tendency: let us not be ashamed to admit its existence in our natures, but rather make certain that it becomes no more than a tendency instead of allowing it to become a ruling passion.

Let us not be smugly righteous in Publican fashion, or like proud and viciously gleeful children crying "We didn't have anything to do with it!", sit back and await the punishment of those we deem offenders. It is no grace of our own which creates in us chance awareness of evil. It is, rather, a heaven-gift which we should seek to employ as a means of stirring others to similar awareness.

Passivity in the attitude of any given group towards a movement is partly the fault of those who profess to understand and condemn this evil lot afforded the Negro in our scheme of "civilization," to live this understanding and this condemnation so contagiously that these passive beholders (especially those who term themselves "Catholics"), may be literally and nescapably whirlpooled into active participation in this great social crusade.

We are responsible in the name of Charity and of Justice and of Christian Humility.

—M. McCORMACK



PLAYS And A Point Of View

By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

The recent theatrical season was so barren of merit that both the Pulitzer Committee and the Critics' Circle declined to make an award for the best American play of the year. If those eclectic bodies had assembled during the latter half of June, instead of earlier in the year, they might have considered the Madison Square Garden Rally of the March on Washington Movement and arrived at a different decision. The Garden Rally was a stirring spectacle of an oppressed people demanding justice. Even the most case-hardened critic would have been compelled to concede that the event was well staged.

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Just before Mr. Erwin, the chairman, formally called the Rally to order, A. Philip Randolph, National Director of the March on Washington Movement, entered the Garden with a colorful bit of pomp and circumstance. Mr. Randolph was escorted through the auditorium by a hundred Pullman porters in uniform. A chef, in white cap and apron, marched at the head of the procession while fifty maids formed the rear guard. The accompanying music, played by the porters' band, was a martial Protestant hymn, "Hold the Fort for I Am Coming."

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After conducting Mr. Randolph to the rostrum, the porters were seated in a body in the center of the reserved section. The prominence of the porters gave the Rally a decidedly working class atmosphere—an appropriate gesture, since Mr. Randolph is President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Practically all Negroes, of course, are wage earners, or want to be.

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Dr. Erwin officially opened the rally by introducing an attractive brown-skinned girl who sang the National Anthem. The soloist sang with emotion which probably caused the FBI men present to put her on their suspect list for future observation. The current fashion in patriotism inclines toward blatant braggadocio and the phony patrioteering of charlatans whose real loyalty is to some foreign flag or ideology.

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The militant Lutheran music, rendered for processional music, lifted the assemblage to a restrained state of religious fervor which was sustained until the end of the program.

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The religious atmosphere of the Rally was enhanced by the number of ministers on the platform and among the speakers. All faiths were represented, with the Baptists predominating.

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The Presbyterian invocation, by Rev. William Lloyd Imes, was a gem of sheer artistry. Dr. Imes included verses from James Weldon Johnson's Negro National Anthem in his prayer. The Negro National Anthem, incidentally, is unique among patriotic hymns. It expresses devotion to God, a people and an ideal, rather than a bit of geography.

* * *

A highlight of the program was a play by Dick Campbell, who presented his Rose McClendon Players. The several scenes depicted the difficulties Negroes encounter when they attempt to serve their country as workers or soldiers. Canada Lee, who played Bigger Thomas, in "Native Son," was featured in one of the scenes.

* * *

Comic relief was provided by the Rev. W. C. Carrington, who could easily qualify as a monologue artist. His punch line was a wow. "We want it clearly understood," he declared, "that we are not here to embarrass the President or the administration. They have embarrassed themselves."

* * *

Dr. Erwin, Walter White and Mr. Campbell, are, visually, white men. Which goes to prove you cannot always believe what you see. Personally, they would have no trouble entering the avenues to success open to Nordics and advancing as far as their ability could carry them. One is impelled to salute the integrity of these men who are voluntarily loyal to an oppressed people.

FROM HERE AND THERE DURING THE MONTH

● FEDERAL COUNCIL

URGES ACTION, NOW

New York, June 25—The executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches in a "Message to Our Fellow-Christians" today urged churches to set their own houses in order in the matter of race discrimination, saying:

"Out of the churches of America must come leaders who . . . vigorously oppose all policies and practices of racial discrimination in the Armed Forces; (who) work constructively for the relieving of the acute white-Negro tensions growing up in camp and war industrial communities; and (who) as employers or workers give strong support to President Roosevelt's executive order against discrimination in industry . . ."

The message, which was directed to the members of the 24 national denominations which comprise the Federal Council, declared that "Racial discriminations against Negroes and other minority groups has persisted in our communities partly because it has not been eliminated from our churches.

. . . The achievement of the Christian ideal of democracy in our nation falls short because of the lack of clearer demonstration in our churches. Men and women of all races should be warmly welcomed among their members.

"The experience of our missionaries . . . has shown conclusively that we need to achieve justice and fellowship among racial groups in our own land in order to show the sincerity of our belief in the Gospel we carry to the peoples of other lands."

● MANPOWER AGENCY

WILL AID NEGROES

Washington, June 20—A Negro newspaper service to work for full use of Negroes in the training and employment phases of the war production program has been set up by Paul V. McNutt, chairman of the War Manpower Commission. Mr. Robert C. Weaver is director of the new division.

The new service will assist in obtaining wider participation of Negroes in war industries and will compile and give out information relative to availability of Negro manpower and training programs. It will direct attention to possibilities for utilization of Negroes when local training programs and housing projects are being planned.

The service will also cooperate with the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice in the investigation and adjustment of complaints involving discrimination or failure to utilize to the fullest extent available Negro manpower or to extend training privileges to Negroes.

● PHI DELTA KAPPA VOTES

TO DROP "WHITE CLAUSE"

Phi Delta Kappa, national professional educational fraternity, in a nation-wide referendum, voted to drop the constitutional clause restricting membership in the organization to only white men, it was announced recently by Dr. George D. Weeks, chairman of the Beta Chapter at Teachers College.

The referendum ended a four-month-old fight against the ranks of the fraternity over the question of whether to admit non-white members. Of the ninety-two chapters in the organization, sixty-seven voted to remove the restriction, twenty wanted to retain the measure and five failed to cast a ballot.

A fight over the so-called "white clause" was precipitated last February when the national executive council of the fraternity conditionally revoked the charter of the Sigma Chapter of Ohio State University because it had admitted a Negro and Chinese to membership.

● TELLS EIGHT CONCERNs

TO LIFT RACE BARS

Washington, May 26—Eight concerns in the New York and New Jersey area holding large war contracts have been ordered by the President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice to cease and desist from discriminating against potential workers because of their color, it was announced today.

The action was based on the record of public hearings held in New York City in February and showed that the cited companies had refused to employ qualified persons because they were Negroes, Jews or nationals of enemy countries. It was taken under Executive Order 8802, which

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outlaws such discriminations by war contractors and the Government.

The concerns cited in the order are Carl Norden, Inc., and Fairchild Aviation Corporation, both of New York City; Wright Aeronautical Corporation of Paterson, N. J., Becton, Dickinson & Co. and Continental Can Company of East Rutherford, N. J., Babcock & Wilcox of Bayonne, Titeflex Metal Hose Co., Newark, and Isolantite, Belleville, N. J.

Dr. Malcolm S. MacLean, chairman of the committee, said "there is a long list of employers who hitherto refused or who now refuse employment to persons because of their race, their religion, or their national background."

● BISHOP GUILLEME DEAD AT 83; 58 YEARS AN AFRICAN MISSIONER

London, June 12—The Most Rev. Maturin Guillème, Titular Bishop of Matara in Proconsulari and retired Vicar Apostolic of Nyassaland, has died in Nyassaland at 83, the White Fathers have announced. He had served 59 years as a missionary in central Africa.

While stationed on the lower shores of Lake Tanganyika, as a young missionary, Bishop Guillème used to cross the lake at least once a month in a native dhow, it is reported, to visit the slave market at Ujiji, where he bought slaves to set them free.

So great was the natives' affection for him that when he was moved from one station in Tanganyika to another, 500 miles distant, he was followed by 3,000 members of his flock.

In Zanzibar, toward the end of last century, he gathered much information about the slave trade, by visiting the markets, and he passed on the facts to Cardinal Lavigerie and to British officials who were engaged in the suppression of the slave traffic.

Seven years ago Bishop Guillème resigned his charge of the Vicariate and spent his last years hearing confessions and helping those who sought his advice. He had lived to see the number of Catholics increase from zero to 43,000 in the nine mission stations under his jurisdiction.

● ALMOST 84,000 NEGROES IN CARE OF JOSEPHITE FATHERS

Baltimore, Md.—From parishes in the North and mission outposts in the South comes striking evidence of the spiritual and material progress made by Josephite Fathers in the past year in the apostolate for the Negro. The total number of souls under their care, including 1,560 converts, has now reached 83,987, an increase of 2,720 for the year. One hundred and fifteen priests are actively engaged in 72 parishes and 36 missions. Thirty-seven other priests of the society are assigned to special work.

The rapid spiritual advancement of the work has necessitated material growth to provide facilities for worship and instruction. Two memorial chapels were erected in the past year, one near Fort Worth, Tex., and the other in Welsh, La., according to the annual report in the *Colored Harvest*, published here. Other schools were built in Beaumont, Tex., New Orleans, La., Biloxi, Miss., and Houston, Tex.

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—From a letter

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8 POINT PROGRAM — MARCH-ON-WASHINGTON MOVEMENT

"Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy"

1. We demand in the interest of national unity, the abrogation of every law which makes a distinction in treatment between citizens based on religion, creed, color, or national origin. This means an end to Jim Crow in education, in housing, in transportation and in every other social, economic and political privilege; and especially we demand, in the capital of the nation, an end to all segregation in public places and in public institutions.
2. We demand legislation to enforce the 5th and 14th amendments guaranteeing that no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law so that the full weight of the National Government may be used for the protection of life and thereby may end the disgrace of lynching.
3. We demand the enforcement of the 14th and 15th amendments and the enactment of the Pepper Poll Tax Bill so that all barriers in the exercise of the suffrage are eliminated.
4. We demand the abolition of segregation and discrimination in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Corps, and all other branches of national defense.
5. We demand an end to discrimination in jobs and job training. Further, we demand that the F.E.P.C. be made a permanent administration agency of the U. S. Government and that it be given power to enforce its decisions based on its findings.
6. We demand that Federal funds be withheld from any agency which practices discrimination in the use of such funds.
7. We demand Negro and minority group representation on all administrative agencies so that these groups may have recognition of their democratic right to participate in formulating policies.
8. We demand representation for the Negro and minority racial groups on all missions, political and technical, which will be sent to the peace conference so that the interests of all people everywhere may be fully recognized and justly provided for in the post war settlement.

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